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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 3 PRETORIA 2049

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FROM LOW

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 TAGS: PDEV, PINT, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SUMMARY OF GRAHAM/LOW VISIT TO SALISBURY

SUMMARY: DEPUTIES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEMBERS OF THE RHODESIAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT TURNED DOWN FLATLY ANY THOUGHT OF AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING OF THE KIND WE ARE PRESENTLY ENVISAGING. THEY SAID THEY REFUSED TO ENTER INTO ANY NEGOTIATION OF THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT, MEET ANYONE OUTSIDE OF SALISBURY OR PARTICIPATE IN A MEETING THAT INCLUDED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRONT LINE, THOUGH THEY OFFERED DISCUSSIONS IN SALISBURY WITH NKOMO AND MUGABE IF THE LATTER WOULD RENOUNCE VIOLENCE. THEY WOULD BE PLEASED CONFIDENTIAL

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TO RECEIVE VANCE AND OWEN IN SALISBURY AND CONCEDED THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION WITH THEM INCLUDING A CONFERENCE AT THAT TIME. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS WITH POWER IN THEIR HANDS ARE NOW MORE ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO CONCESSIONS TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THAN IS SMITH. CONVERSATIONS WITH OTHER RHODESIANS INDICATED LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT REGISTRATION AND ELECTION COULD TAKE PLACE UN-

LESS THERE WAS A MAJOR DE-ESCALATION IN VIOLENCE. END SUMMARY

- 1. IN SALISBURY, GRAHAM, STEEL AND I MET ON SUNDAY WITH TWO INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTIES -- THE LIBERAL WHITE NUF AND NKOMO'S INTERNAL ANC (Z) -- AND FOR FOUR FOURS ON MONDAY WITH THE DEPUTIES TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. IN THE MEETING WITH THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DEPUTIES (DAVID SMITH, GABELLAH, CHIKEREMA, CHIEF NDIWENI) GRAHAM EXPLAINED OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE AND PRELIMINARY MEETINGS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND SALISBURY GROUP. THE THREE AFRICAN NATIONALIST REPRESENTATIVES DELIVERED STRONGLY WORDED, PREPARED SPEECHES IN WHICH THEY DESCRIBED THEIR REJECTION OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS, THE IMMUTABILITY OF THE MARCH 3 INTERNAL AGREEMENT, THEIR RESENTMENT OF EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE, AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO HAVE NKOMO AND MUGABE JOIN THEM.
- 2. CHIEF NDIWENI LED OFF WITH THE LAST OF THESE POINTS SAYING NKOMO AND MUGABE WOULD FIND A PLACE IN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND COULD PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS IF THEY RENOUNCED VIOLENCE AND "RETURNED HOME". GABELLAH FOLLOWED WITH A LENGTHY PLEA FOR SUPPORT OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THE BRITISH HAD TRIED FOR 13 YEARS TO SOLVE THE RHODESIAN QUESTION AND FAILED. NOW THE RHODESIAN PEOPLE HAD GOTTEN TOGETHER AND DONE IT CONFIDENTIAL

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THEMSELVES AGREEING ON A SOLUTION THAT PROVIDED WHAT THE WORLD HAD URGED ON THEM: TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY BASED ON ELECTION BY UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE. NINETY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE RHODESIAN PEOPLE SUPPORTED THIS, AND THEY EXPECTED THE UN AND US TO DO SO ALSO. THEY SAW NO REASON TO "REOPEN THE WOUND" BY NEW NEGOTIATIONS. LATER HE SAID THAT IF WE DOUBTED THEIR SUPPORT THEY WERE PREPARED TO TEST IT IN ANY WAY WE WISHED, AND THEY WOULD ORGANIZE IT. THE NATIONALISTS (INTERNAL) WERE DETERMINED TO CARRY OUT THE AGREEMENT AND THE UN AND US COULD HELP BY URGING THE EXTERNAL NATIONALIST LEADERS AND GUERRILLAS TO JOIN THEM.

3. CHIKEREMA DESCRIBED OUR VISIT AS AN INSULT. HE RESENTED OUR DESCRIBING THE AGREEMENT AS INADEQUATE. THAT WAS UP TO THE RHODESIANS TO DECIDE NOT OUTSIDERS AND NINETY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE SUPPORTED IT. THE UK AND US WERE AFRAID OF THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS AND WERE ACTING AS THEIR AGENTS. PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPEECH IN LAGOS ADOPTED THE POSITION OF A "RUNNING BOY" OF SOVIET COMMUNISM. ZIMBABWEANS WERE NOT AFRAID OF THE SOVIETS AND CUBANS OR OF CIVIL WAR WHICH WOULD ONLY

COME AS A RESULT OF MISTAKEN UK/US POLICIES AS IN ANGOLA. THEY HAD NOTHING TO LEARN FROM THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS OR NIGERIAN CORRUPTION AND REJECTED UN (A WEAPON OF THE SOVIET UNION) INTERFERENCE. NDIWENI ADDED THAT UK/US WERE JUST CONFUSING THE ISSUE. THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT WERE NOT INTERESTED IN LISTENING TO ANY NEW SUGGESTIONS, HAVING ACCOMPLISHED WHAT THEY HAD SOUGHT FOR 13 YEARS.

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FROM LOW

4. I REPLIED THAT THE US AND UK BELIEVED THEY COULD PLAY A ROLE BY HELPING TO NARROW THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES BUT WE COULD ONLY DO THIS IF THEY RECOGNIZED OUR GOOD FAITH AND WANTED OUR HELP. A COUNTRY ENTERING ON INDEPENDENCE WOULD FIND A NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT. WAS IT WISE TO FACE THE WORLD DEFIANTLY AT THIS STAGE OR WOULD IT NOT BE BETTER TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR REASONABLENESS? THEY CARRIED A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY TO TRY TO BRING THE COUNTRY TO INDEPENDENCE WITH AS LITTLE VIOLENCE AND AS GREAT STRENGTH AND UNITY

AS POSSIBLE. WE BELIEVED OUR PROPOSALS FOR TALKS COULD CONTRIBUTE GO THIS.

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5. AFTER GEETING THEIR INITIAL SET SPEECHES OUT OF THE WAY, THE TENOR OF THE AFRICAN'S STATEMENTS IMPROVED, BUT THEY DID NOT MOVE A BIT FROM THEIR INITIAL POSITION. DAVID SMITH ECHOED THEIR VIEWS THOUGH IN MORE MODERATE LANGUAGE AND SHOWING GREATER FLEXIBILITY. UK/US CONTRIBUTION SHOULD BE TO ACCEPT WHAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED, URGE EXTERNAL PEOPLE TO RETURN AND STIMULATE RHODESIAN ECONOMY.

6. GRAHAM RECONFIRMED THE "FIFTH PRINCIPLE" SAYING HMG WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT RESULTS OF AN ELECTION CONDUCTED UNDER PROPER CONDITIONS BUT ADDED WE DO NOT SEE HOW THIS COULD HAPPEN. I POINTED OUT THAT AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE WOULD HELP STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITION AND HASTEN MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE. WE WERE NOT ASKING THEM TO DISMANTLE THEIR AGREEMENT BUT RATHER TO FIND AREAS OF ACCORD BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS. THE LONGER THE PARTIES STAYED APART, THE MORE DIFFICULT THE PROCESS TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE BECAME. THEY WERE PERHAPS IN A STRONGER POSITION TO MEET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT NOW RIGHT AFTER FORMATION OF THEIR MINISTERIAL COUNCIL THAN THEY WOULD BE TWO MONTHS HENCE.

7. GABELLAH ASKED THAT THE WORLD LEAVE THEM ALONE SO THEY COULD COMPLETE THEIR BUSINESS BY DECEMBER 31. CHIKERAMA OBJECTED TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT "VETO". HE SAID THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS WERE PART OF A GOVERNMENT NOW. IT WOULD BE DEMEANING TO GO TO NAIROBI TO BE ARRAIGNED BEFORE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FRONT LINE. NKOMO'S ARMY WAS DIVIDED AND PART OF IT DETAINED BY THE ZAMBIANS AT MBORAMA. WE SHOULD ASK THE ZAMBIANS AND MOZAMBIQUANS TO RELEASE ALL THOSE BEING DETAINED TO ALLOW THEM TO RETURN TO RHODESIA.

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8. SMITH, ECHOED BY THE OTHERS, WELCOMED A VISIT BY VANCE AND OWEN. AS CHIKERAMA PUT IT, THE VISIT COULD SERVE TO DISCUSS AND GIVE ANSWERS TO VANCE AND OWEN'S QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MARCH 3 INTERNAL AGREEMENT. GRAHAM'S QUESTION OF WHETHER THEY WOULD AT LEAST AGREE TO KEEP THEIR MINDS OPEN ABOUT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING

WAS GREETED BY A RESOUNDING NO ALTHOUGH AGAIN SMITH SOFTENED IT SOMEWHAT.

9. AFTER ADJOURNING FOR LUNCH AND INSTRUCTIONS, GRAHAM PROPOSED THE OWEN/VANCE VISIT WHICH THEY AGAIN WELCOMED. THEY MADE CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT ANY FURTHER CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE TO BE BASED ON THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT, TAKE PLACE IN SALISBURY AND EXCLUDE THE FRONT LINE. DAVID SMITH ADDED THAT IF IN THE COURSE OF THOSE DISCUSSIONS IT EMERGED THAT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE USEFUL, THE DOOR WAS NOT CLOSED. ABOVE ALL, JACK GAYLARD SAID, IT SHOULD BE FULLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE WAS TO BE NO RE-NEGOTIATION OF THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT. THAT IS A CLOSEC BOOK.

10. THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL GROUP PRODUCED A DRAFT PUBLIC STATEMENT WHICH THEY WOULD NOT BUDGE FROM. WE, THEREFORE, DRAFTED OUR OWN WHICH WE READ TO THEM AND WHICH THEY AGREED NOT TO OBJECT TO. IT INDICATED THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD BE A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION AT THE MEETING WITH VANCE AND OWEN. (REF PRETORIA 2015 AND 2019) GRAHAM AND I DISCUSSED ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE VISIT WITH GAYLARD AFTER THE MEETING. THAT WILL BE SUBJECT OF A SEPARATE TELEGRAM.

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EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FROM LOW

11. ON SUNDAY, GRAHAM, STEEL AND I MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NUF (LIBERAL WHITE POLITICAL PARTY) AND ANC (Z) THE INTERNAL ZAPU PARTY. THE NUF WAS EMPHATIC IN STATING THAT UNLESS THERE WAS A MAJOR DE-ESCALATION IN VIOLENCE IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT AUTHORITIES TO CARRY OFF REGISTRATION AND ELECTION. THEY FELT THAT SMITH WOULD, UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, SIMPLY PROLONG THE PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENT AND ADDED THAT THIS WOULD PROBABLY NOT DISAPPOINT MANY PEOPLE. SMITH, THEY SAID, HAS HIS EYE VERY MUCH ON THE WHITE REFERENDUM WHICH CANNOT OCCUR UNTIL AFTER THE CONSTITUTION HAS BEEN WRITTEN--SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER IS THE LIKELY GUESS. UNTIL THEN HE MUST BE CAREFUL CONFIDENTIAL

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NOT TO ALIENATE WHITE SUPPORT. THUS, HE IS NOT LIKELY TO PERMIT THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TO MOVE RAPIDLY TOWARDS AMENDING DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION OR EASING SECURITY REGULATIONS.

12. THE ANC (Z) GROUP CHINAMANO, TOGETHER WITH CHAMBATE, MUZARURWA, AND RAFTOPOLOUS CONFIRMED THEIR VIEW THAT THE GOVERNMENT COULD NOT REGISTER VOTERS IN RURAL AREAS UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. THEY COMPLAINED THAT THE NAME OF THEIR PARTY, THEIR OWN NAMES AND VIEWS WERE BANNED IN THE PRESS. THEY THEMSELVES WERE HARASSED AND THEY WERE CONVINCED THAT THE TWO MEMBERS OF THEIR CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHO HAD BEEN KILLED LAST WEEKEND WERE VICTIMS OF THE SECURITY FORCES.

13. IN INFORMAL DINNER WITH OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERN-MENT WITH WHOM I HAVE NEGOTIATED MANY TIMES IN THE PAST, I FOUND A MARKED HARDENING OF THE POSITION SINCE MY LAST DISCUSSION WITH THEM. I SUGGESTED THAT OUR MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS IMPORTANT TO TIE THAT ORGANIZATION DOWN TO A REASONABLE POSITION UNDER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL. THIS, I SAID, COULD SERVE A USEFUL PURPOSE AS A SAFETY NET IN THE EVENT THEIR OWN PLANS DID NOT PROSPER. JACK GAYLARD REFLECTED THE ANGLO/AMERICAN PROPOSAL SAYING THE WHITES WOULD LEAVE RHODESIA IF IT WAS "IMPOSED". SOMEWHAT TO MY SURPRISE HE CITED AS ITS MOST OBJECTIONABLE FEATURE

THE PROVISION FOR A UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE WHICH HE SAID WOULD NEVER BE ACCEPTABLE TO RHODESIA. (CHIKEREMA HAD ALSO STRONGLY CRITICIZED THE IDEA.) THE OTHER DISTASTE-

FUL FEATURE WAS THAT OF CARVER AS THE RESIDENT COM-MISSIONER THOUGH HIS OBJECTION DID NOT SEEM TO BE PERSONAL. SECRETARY OF SECURITY CLAYPOLE AGREED THAT CRUCIAL ELE-CONFIDENTIAL.

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MENT IN PROGRESS OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS THE PROGRAM TO ATTRACK BACK GUERRILLA FIGHTERS AND THAT WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL SUCCESS AN ELECTION WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE.

14. COMMENT: THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS HAVE ACHIEVED A POSITION OF POWER AND WILL FIGHT TO PROTECT IT. THEIR POSITION APPEARS TO BE CONSIDERABLY MORE RIGID THAN IAN SMITH'S AND PROBABLY IS SOMEWHAT OF AN EMBARASSMENT TO HIM. HIS EFFORTS TO BRING THE FIGHTING TO AN END MAY WELL HAVE TO BE CARRIED OUT IN SPITE OF RATHER THAN BECAUSE OF THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS. CER-TAINLY AT THE MOMENT ONE COULD NOT ESCAPE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE TWO SIDES ARE FURTHER APART THAN THEY HAVE BEEN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE ANGLO/AMERICAN PROPOSAL WAS AN-NOUNCED IN SEPTEMBER LAST YEAR. FORMAL MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES SEEM TO PROVIDE OCCASIONS FOR THEM TO EX-PRESS EXTREME VIEWS MORE THAN TO SEEK ACCOMMODATION OF DIFFERENCES. I DO NOT BELIEVE THE ACTUAL MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL--MUZOREWA, SITHOLE, ETC.--WILL EXPRESS VIEWS IN QUITE AS INTEMPERATE A FASHION TO SECRETARY VANCE AND DR. OWEN, BUT THEY ARE LIKELY TO GET THEIR POSITION AS FIRMLY ON RECORD AS THEIR DEPUTIES DID. THEY SEE AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE AS A CHALLENGE TO THEIR POSITION AND AN ATTACK AGAINST WHAT THEY BELIEVE THEY HAVE ACHIEVED. THEY ARE NOT NEARLY AS CONCERNED AS WE AND OTHERS ARE ABOUT THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL ABILITY OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND ITS SUPPORTERS TO THWART THEIR AIMS. THEY ARE RELYING ON SMITH AND HIS FORCES TO TAKE CARE OF THAT AND THEY HAVE GREAT FAITH IN THE STRENGTH OF THIS FORCE. THESE ARE AMBITIOUS PEOPLE WHO SEE POWER OVER AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE ALMOST WITHIN THEIR GRASP. PROBABLY THE ONLY THING THAT WILL SHAKE THEM WILL BE EVIDENCE THAT POPULAR SUPPORT WAS SLIPPING AWAY FROM THEM. IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR ELECTORAL SUPPORT WITH EACH OTHER AND AGAINST THE PATRIOTIC FRONT THEY WILL REQUIRE REGULAR CONFIDENTIAL.

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CONCESSIONS FROM SMITH. IF HE DOES NOT GIVE THEM,
THERE WILL BE DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE ATTEMPTED
SETTLEMENT AND THEY MAY BE FORCED TO ADOPT MORE COMPRO-

MISING POSITIONS.	THIS, HOWEVER,	DOES NOT	SEEM LIKELY
FOR AMONTH OR T	WO.		
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